





# MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

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CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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New Series.

BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY, 1846.

Vol. 3.—No. 8.

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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

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## LATEST FROM CAPE PALMAS.

We have advices from the colony as late as the 25th Oct., and all of the most gratifying character. It appears that the English agent, Mr. Butts, from Demerara, has made them another, and we doubt not, his last visit; for his earnest appeals and flattering promises, have entirely failed to induce one colonist to accompany him. As the grand and ultimate object of the colonization scheme, was to create a desirable and happy home for the colored people of the United States, what combination of evidence could so conclusively prove this end to be accomplished, as the entire failure of this agent of the Demerara planters, to induce one colonist to leave his home at Cape Palmas.—Let us hear no more of the *dissatisfaction* of the colonists.

The following of the above date, is from Gov. Russwurm.

CAPE PALMAS, Oct. 25, 1845.

DR. JAMES HALL, *Genl. Agt. Md. S. C. S.*

DEAR SIR.—Having a few leisure moments on this busy day, (Saturday) I devote them to address the Board. I wrote you by bark Active, Captain Sims, on the 18th. Since then, the subject of most interest is the departure, 16 days ago, of a party of colonists and Cape-men for the Pah country. My last advices from them, eight days since, were dated near the falls of Faye (on the Cavally river,) where native report says, a deputation of Pahs were to meet and conduct them to their country. This *Pah country*, is the region noted on all maps of Africa as *unexplored*, and I anticipate great results from the opening of an intercourse.

The Pahs live between the Cavally and *St. Andrews* river, which flows through their country, called by them *Nego*. The *St. Andrews* people ascend their river, and trade with Pahs living on its banks. This fact, I ascertained from a Pah man, who has been to the Cape since our party left, but will overtake and accompany them out. He was the first ever seen at Cape Palmas, and was as much a curiosity to natives as colonists.

The Board will be gratified to learn, that we are about to manufacture our own leather, as well as soap. The hides are now in the *tan-vat*. I want a set of currier's tools, copperas, lamp-black and one barrel fish oil, for Shadrach Smith, who is the tanner. A new spirit of improvement is abroad in the colony, and almost every family is planting a little cotton. The Tubmans beg me to write for fresh seed, green and black. We are determined to make cloth in 1846, as well as our neighbours the *Pahs*. I

therefore take the liberty to remind you again, that we need greatly 1 box cotton cards (1 pair for every family,) and 12 spinning wheels at least. We have no looms—one complete, such as the Irish weave plaids with, would be very acceptable, and serve as a model to make others by.

For our schools, we need 12 doz. Gallandet's and Hooker's spelling books, and 12 doz. Testaments. I cannot close this letter without saying, that your agent is greatly indebted to Rev. A. Herring, (our Methodist preacher for the last two years,) for seconding all our efforts to infuse into the colonists a spirit of improvement in agriculture and manufactures. He has been to us a real diamond. I hope he may be continued another year.

For months we have been without nails, only 10 kegs came out in the Chipola.

Very respectfully, your obdt. servant,

JNO. B. RUSSWURM, A. Md. S. C. S.

### THE LIBERIA HERALD.

We copy several long extracts from this paper, of Oct. which cannot but interest our readers.

### COLONIAL INTERCOMMUNICATION.

The subject of a ready and cheap communication between the colonies or settlements on the windward coast of Africa, is an important one, and deserves the attention of all who are interested in the civilization of Africa. It will hardly be credited abroad that communication between the settlements planted along the line of coast from Goree on the north-west to Cape Palmas on the south-east are more infrequent than between the same places and Europe or America. Once perhaps in a year an opportunity may occur to send a letter to Gambia, but no one expects when he has written to a friend at Cape Coast to have his answer by a shorter route than England. As near as Sierra Leone is to us, opportunities to communicate there have been far from frequent and very uncertain. Recently a German house there, has established business here, and letters now find their way with a little more frequency. Even among our own settlements, communication is quite uncertain, and a trip to Sinoe or Cape Palmas, is rather a hazardous enterprise for those who have any thing to do at home.

That this non-intercourse found a place during the early settlements of the colonies is not to be wondered at. The country being then *new* and its resources untouched every thing necessary for the subsistence of the colonies, and for their infant commerce, was found in great abundance in or immediately around each settlement. Each had all it needed for its consumption and for its limited trade: and intent on planting firmly their foothold the settlers of one place had no time to give to correspondence with those of another. Being now firmly fixed, more extensively known abroad and more frequently visited by commercial speculators the growing interest of all demands a closer relation and more frequent intercourse. Nothing tends more powerfully to narrow prejudice, abate jealousy, and engender friendship than frequent intercourse.

If the people of these colonies are wise, whether French, English, or American, they will not be long in seeing that their interests are in a great measure identified, and that the high road to permanent prosperity is the same for all. That mean spirit of jealousy and of hostility of one colony against another, engendered and nursed by unprincipled and money-hunting white men, should be frowned down by every colored man as a deadly foe to his highest and most cherished hopes. In their place sentiments of friendship should be cherished, frequent intercourse encouraged and closer relations formed.



Palm Oil and Camwood are collected in larger quantities in this region than about Sierra Leone, while in Sierra Leone there is always a larger supply of suitable merchandize than in this colony. We want their goods and they want our produce: an exchange is mutually desired and would be mutually profitable. Nothing is wanted to an exchange but a regular means of communication or conveyance, and if the trade were once fairly opened it would speedily increase to an extent that few will now believe, as nothing is required to increase our trade but a regular supply of merchandize.

A regular conveyance between the colonies would be a great convenience even to those not engaged in commercial pursuits. Frequently officers in the European colonies whose health has become impaired by long residence in this country are ordered by their physicians to try the effect of an excursion at sea. In the present state of communication between the colonies, a visit to them is never thought of: Europe or America is the only resort, and when the patient arrives home he can tell no more about the country, excepting perhaps the little settlement where he resided, than when he first landed in Africa. A regular communication would attract intelligent visitors to the different colonies, by whom their condition, resources, and prospects would be circulated abroad. Not unfrequently the governments of European colonies experience no little inconvenience in this respect. We have been told that the different garrisons are by a British army ordered to be relieved once in every two years, and that for want of conveyance the men have been on some occasions detained at a garrison a year over the time.

We think a regular line of packets might be established to ply between Cape Coast and Sierra Leone touching at the intermediate ports. The trade which would at once start up between the places would pay the outlay and leave a profit; to say nothing of passage money and the convenience it would afford for the transportation of troops and conveyance of intelligence.

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### GOLD MINE!!!

In the settlement of Caldwell a few days ago some large ingots of this precious metal was found; and by those acquainted with the subject and who have examined the place it is said there is every indication that the ore is very abundant there. We had the pleasure of seeing some of it, about \$50 worth, which was not all the gentleman had. Our friend Jameison is the fortunate finder.

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It is said the slavers at Gallenas are at length forced into a rather unpleasant predicament. They have been lately so closely watched by the cruisers that they have not been able to ship any slaves since the *Atalanta* left. The *Patuxent's* cargo of 300 was ready and had been marched down to Cape Mount, somewhere in the vicinity of which they would have been shipped in two or three days if she had not been taken. This last hope cut off the slavers in despair of an opportunity to ship—and unwilling to bear any longer the expense of feeding the slaves have emptied their baracoons. They have given or divided them among the head men of the country to labour for them as an equivalent for their food, with the promise given that they will be promptly returned when there is an opportunity to ship them. What must these poor wretches have suffered in the filthy and loathsome baracoons *before the slavers were forced to this uncertain and precarious measure.*

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In expectation that the subject of our relations with the American Colonization Society will be brought before the ensuing Legislature, the late election was contested with more zeal and spirit than any which has been held for years. But the zeal and spirit were different in character and manifestation from what has been exhibited on former excited occasions. Unlike the violent, noisy, and rancorous spirit of 1840, which regarded men more than measures, the people on the present occasion came to the ballot box calmly and deliberately fixed in their opinion, under the impression that a subject of deepest importance is now to be determined. Indeed some individuals displayed a degree of cool calculation which until then they were not thought to possess. Will you vote for such an one; asked a brainless zealot. The reply was: Yes; I do not like him so well, it is true, but he is a sensible man and his interest is staked with ours. He can do no injury to me which will not affect him. If all democrats acted thus, then would democracy be a beautiful affair!!

Some indeed entertain fears that the Legislature will act with rashness and precipitancy, and carry a modification of our present relation farther than the circumstances of the case require. All such fears however, are idle; because any modification will destroy the constitution under which the members of council are elected and which before they enter upon their duties they are sworn to support; and any act of theirs therefore, which would impair this charter would be *ipso facto* invalid. It is to be believed, certainly it is to be hoped that the successful candidates expect to do nothing more in their legislative capacity than give the resolutions sent out by the Board of Managers their calmest and most deliberate attention, and suggest to the people the course, when the resolutions go before them, that sound wisdom and policy dictate.

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### AN AFFAIR OF HONOR.

Two natives, gentlemen of course, a few days ago suffered themselves to be drawn into rather an ungentlemanly dispute which at length grew very warm. The matter was regarded too serious to pass off with a quarrel only, but it would not do for gentlemen to fight. Therefore, they agreed to dispose of the matter by substitutes. Each selected a man from amongst his retainers to fight in place of his master. The representatives took their ground and after a hard fight of about fifteen minutes, one, the larger of the two, yielded to the more powerful fists of the other. Our classical readers will no doubt recollect the fate of the heroic and patriotic Titus Manlius.

We have only recently heard the reasons, why the natives flogged Captain Day after his schooner was wrecked off Rock Cess. When the schooner struck, the Captain supposing she would drift ashore, ordered the hatches to be nailed down or otherwise secured, that the cargo might not be washed out. She did not move however from the rock where she struck. The natives boarded her, of course with intention to plunder, but were baulked as they could not get in the hold. Chagrined with disappointment they hurried ashore to punish the Captain for securing the hold, and thus preventing them from getting what God sent for them.

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### SOVEREIGNTY.

The most extraordinary and we may say extravagant opinions on the subject of Liberia sovereignty and independence are entertained not only by the mass of our people, but by some also who would be thought possessed of somewhat more than ordinary sagacity. It is of the utmost importance

that these be corrected and that just and enlightened views be taken of the subject.

We have viewed the subject in every light in which we are capable of viewing it—we have given it prolonged and anxious attention—we have endeavoured to weigh it in all its immediate and remote consequences, and examine it in its present and distant bearings, and while we have not found it free from difficulties we have not by any means found in those difficulties that formidable and alarming character in which they present themselves to the view of others. We have found in the subject nothing to alarm, nothing to paralyze energy or beget despondency; but on the contrary much to animate, to inspire hope and awaken zeal. These frowning difficulties and alarming dangers, the phantoms of a diseased brain, or the distorted images of objects viewed through the misty medium of a more than childish ignorance, dwindle into perfect harmlessness when held in the strong and steady light of common sense. The error arises from confounding the subject with its accidents; from regarding as inseparable from it what is by no means necessary to its completeness, or if we may so say, from taking the concrete for the abstract.

The people of these colonies in common with mankind are endowed by their creator with the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." A right to these possessions implies a right to all the means necessary to obtain and enjoy them, which do not conflict with the perfect rights of others. Flying from oppression with the full consent of their oppressors and desiring to build up for themselves a name, and for their children a home on the coast of Africa, on a tract of country which they obtained by fair purchase from its owners; but unable to accomplish these great purposes without assistance they obtained the aid of an association of private individuals in America. To enable this association to act with regularity and vigor, the people invested it with a temporary authority over them, and constituted it a board of trustees. That this is a just definition of the character of the A. C. Society; that its authority is merely paternal or more correctly advisory, however it may appear otherwise to a superficial thinker is clear from the fact, that had the people been disposed to yield political authority in the ordinary acception of the phrase the Society had no *power* to accept it. It is freely admitted that in the constitution which the Society formed and which we received, and in the laws which it enacted and which we obey, there are the form and features of a grant and decrees from sovereign authority; but they derive their force solely from previously delegated power to enact them, in the same way in which an award of a third monarch becomes binding to whom a dispute between two others has been referred. Had the people been disposed to reject the constitution and resist the laws on their first presentment, where was the Society's right to enforce them? In what country would it have set up its tribunal? What arguments but of persuasion and of appeals to their interest could it have used? for the fundamental article of their union includes an acknowledgment of their people's sovereignty, and a promise on the part of the Society to withdraw peaceably the moment they should wish to resume the power they delegated to it. It is, and has ever been an understanding that the Society will yield up its trust whenever the *people* shall think they no longer require its supervision.

It seems essential to the completeness of a ruler's character that either by birth or solemn act of naturalization he be a son of the soil over which he rules; that he be one with the people he governs: especially does it seem requisite that he bear no such allegiance to another state that could by any conjuncture of circumstances array his duty to one against his fidelity to



the other. How far these requisites are to be found in the character of the Society we leave those interested in the question to judge. It would be a source of no ordinary anxiety to us if any should infer from these remarks that we think lightly of the Colonization Society, or regard the people of these colonies at liberty to sever without sufficient reason the ties which bind them to that noblest of institutions. While we regard the people as having a constitutional right to resume whenever they think proper, the power delegated to Society, we hold as a truth equally clear that they are bound to the Society by a tie stronger than any of a paper or parchment. All the dictates of gratitude forbid discourtesy. Past favours, present enjoyments, and future brightening prospects, all the result of the Society's disinterested and unrequited labour beget esteem and inspire veneration. It is confidence in the rectitude of the Society's purpose; in its singleness of aim to do good to us and to Africa; confidence in its willingness to hear all that can be said for or against any measure, and in its readiness to follow any course that may promise to lead more directly and speedily to the object in view, that inspires our heart to indite and emboldens our pen to record our sincere and deliberate convictions. Our only object in the above remarks is to make it manifest that of all the elements of sovereignty, the right "to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness," and to all the means necessary to possess and enjoy them, we are in very deed as fully possessed now as we could be if the whole world were to pronounce us so. Indeed so clear is this fact from the above as well as from other equally obvious considerations that it seems something worse than infatuation in any to dispute it.

It will perhaps be asked why, if the people be already sovereign, is the subject agitated; why propose to disturb the relations that now unite them to the Society. We reply, that order, regularity, responsibility: the safety and convenience of others require that the people assume some regular and defined form. Nations of the earth will demand it and they have a right to demand it of them. They will hold the people of these colonies responsible for their acts, nor can the acts of the people here be made by any known process of moral or political alchymy the acts of the Colonization Society, in any degree in which these acts affect other nations. The Society is amenable for its acts to the laws of its country. Does it throw a broad cloak of amenability over our acts also! Would the United States hold the Society responsible for our acts, or demand of us satisfaction for the acts of the Colonization Society? Will England or France, treat with the Society on subjects relating to the commonwealth of Liberia? Sovereigns can only treat with sovereigns. The United States would hardly treat with the Hudson Bay Company; Imperial Russia will treat with a tribe of Indians.

In the early settlement of this colony when it had no commerce, no foreign relations, no intercourse with foreigners; when its existence was not known, or if known, regarded as a dependency of the United States, the circumstances which now render it expedient that sovereign power be lodged in the colony had no existence. As it then had no commerce, no revenue regulations were required, and as its territorial extent was a mere tract, its laws could not affect the interest of others. Intent at that time on planting their foothold without much regard to political character, the people left all who came amongst them to free and unrestrained operations, so long as they did not interfere with the person and private rights of others. Public rights there were none; and as there was no cause for complaint so there was none to demand whether sovereign power was lodged in the colony or elsewhere. The colonists were the only persons concerned, and they were contented that the ruling power be in the hands to which they had confided



it. Since that time the colony has become greatly changed in its condition, and a correspondent change has been effected in its character. The natural working of its institutions has demanded the exercise of powers in all respects sovereign; and in more than one instance sovereign power has been exercised. Its territory has been greatly enlarged; revenue laws have been made; courts have been organized: one for the trial of cases between citizens of Liberia and foreigners, and another for the adjudication of prizes made on the high seas. If a foreign vessel should be seized on the high seas and condemned in our admiralty court, and an explanation of the case should be made by her government, are we allowed to believe the Society would avow the act? We think not. Whatever the consequences might be, on the heads of the people of this colony they would fall, and all the Society would dare extend to them would be sympathy and friendly mediation. The seizure of property on the high seas and its confiscation in regularly constituted courts are the highest exercise of sovereign power; power which the Society can never exercise and which the people of this colony can exercise only as a sovereignty; and that the people have contemplated this highest act of sovereignty is evident from their having organized courts for the purpose.

We say the safety and convenience of others require the proposed movement; that is the resumption of the powers delegated to the Society. We are anxious for the intercourse of foreigners, and desirous to increase and extend our foreign commercial relations to enable us to develop the resources of the country. While we invite others to repose confidence in us, is it more than even justice that we should present them with at least the semblance of responsibility? can we hope to be successful in our appeals and invitations while we cautiously and systematically withhold every consideration which can make us responsible? should unfortunately circumstances connected with an act of this colony make it desirable on the part of a foreign government to have an explanation, would not a regular organ through which that government would feel itself at liberty to communicate be a matter of convenience to both parties, as well as of safety to us? If we desire the respect and courtesy of nations we must assume the character and betake ourselves to the position to which nations are accustomed to accord them. National comities flow in a regular and defined channel; it were idle to expect they will leave their ordinary course on our account. In this respect strength is nothing; character everything.

The beneficent author of our nature has implanted in the human breast an inextinguishable respect for certain principles. These principles are to nations what laws are to individuals:—a defence of the weak against the strong. So deep however is the depravity of human nature that we have frequently seen all the barriers of law, order and justice swept away by the powerful in their lawless attacks upon the rights of the weak; and this humiliating spectacle has been often exhibited on the broad scale of national ambition as well as on the humbler grade of individual rapacity. But so strong and general is the sense of injustice, and so universal the agreement to execrate it, that every act to commit it is sure to be veiled by a pretext. Policy and expediency cover a multitude of sins. If then with all the force of these principles in their favour the weak are not always secure, what have they to hope whose position will not allow them to wield it? Upon these principles alone the weak find safety, and to this munition of rocks we must retire.

From the above remarks the following inferences are deduced. First, the Society by a devolution of powers by the people of Liberia, for a certain purpose exercises sovereign authority over Liberia, and can exercise this authority over those only who delegated this power. Secondly, that no

new powers are necessary to the sovereignty of the people of Liberia, and none are to be sought. Thirdly, that it is only required that they resume the powers they delegated to the society, and hereafter exercise over themselves, and over all within their territory, in their own name, and by their own hands the powers which they have hitherto exercised by the hands of the society. But against this, great dangers and difficulties are supposed to array themselves. These idle phantoms we may make the subject of some future remark.

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## TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The last No. of the African Repository contains this long and interesting document, of which we proceed to give a very brief sketch and occasional extracts. The Report opens with a merited tribute of respect to the friends and patrons of the cause, and officers of the Colonization Society, who have within the past year been gathered to their fathers; among whom are four vice-presidents of the Society, viz: the Rev. Mr. Hawley, and Samuel Harrison Smith, Esq., of Washington City, the Hon John Cotton Smith, of Ct. and the Hon. Daniel Waldo, of Mass. the latter of whom, made the very liberal bequest to the Society of 10,000 dollars. A sister of Mr. Waldo has also died during the past year, leaving the society \$12,000. By the will of Oliver Smith Esqr. of Hatfield, Mass. about \$10,000 more will ultimately be realized. With a patronage like this, well might the Report next announce in capitals, "THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY IS OUT OF DEBT." This old debt has been a serious draw-back upon the operations of the old Society, crippling its energies at every step, and subjecting it to much unmerited obliquy. The accumulation of the debt in the first place was rather a matter of circumstance almost beyond human control, and for which blame can justly be attached to no one; an affair which is likely to occur in all associations and with individuals, and lucky are those with whom it occurs but once, and lucky are the creditors who always receive fifty per cent. as have those of the American Colonization Society, when its assets at the time, would not have paid the customary commissions for settling the business.

We take this occasion to assert, that the Society deserves the utmost credit for the manner in which the claims against it have been liquidated, and it is a matter of astonishment to us, that there are mercantile men in the community who still hold out and refuse to accept the compromise offered by it. If the contributing public were asked to decide in the case, they would say at once, take that *now*, or nothing. All that is required of a merchant is to surrender up and divide all his assets, but the Society has not only done this, but guaranteed fifty per cent. of what may justly be considered the future profits of the business. Nothing can be more honourable than its course in this matter. But of the Report.

After announcing the freedom of the society from debt, and \$11,000 in pocket, it goes on to congratulate the friends of the cause upon its present flattering prospects in the several states. In those of the north west there begins to be some apprehension felt as to the advantages of the immigration

of free people of colour, and although they at present form but a moiety of the population, yet the people begin to bestir themselves as to the best means of lessening their numbers. What is said of Kentucky we copy below, with this one remark, that if Kentucky founds a new settlement, "*KENTUCKY IN LIBERIA,*" *she will take the management of it herself, or of such funds as are appropriated for it.*

"In Kentucky the cause has assumed an entirely new aspect. A short time before the last annual meeting, we secured an agent for that State, who has been laboring faithfully during the past year, and with wonderful success. His cash receipts have been \$4,929 09, while, in addition to this amount, he has obtained upwards of \$5,000, in subscriptions, for the purchase of territory! He early in the year proposed the plan of raising the means to purchase a tract of land for the use of emigrants from that State. And no sooner had he made the proposal, than it became popular with the citizens. They were anxious to see some practical results of their labors. They believe colonization essentially adapted to benefit the free people of color in their own bounds, and were anxious to have in Liberia a place to which they might be sent, and where they might be located together. Pledges were given to them by this Society, that they should have such a place, say a tract of land, forty miles square. And Gov. Roberts has been instructed to lay off, on the north side of the St. Paul's river, such a tract, and locate on it all emigrants from that State, and to call the settlement Kentucky. A number of the colored people were anxious to go to Liberia this winter, and be the pioneers of this new settlement."

In all the other states, Tennessee excepted, the cause appears to be steadily progressing,—old Massachusetts in particular is doing nobly.

It appears that the \$15,000 which it was resolved to raise for the purchase of territory has been subscribed. An increased number of emigrants has been sent the past year, and promise is given of a still greater number the present year.

Several long extracts are given from communications of the officers of the colony, from colonists, missionaries, and officers of the United States Navy, all tending to show the increasing prosperity of the several Colonies of Liberia, and to prove the scheme to be not only great and practicable, but the only one which promises to effect a moral change in the native African. Many of these extracts we have published in our Journal during the past year, or we would now insert them, but the testimony therein contained as to establishing the above position is conclusive and overwhelming.

The subject of the seizure of the John Seys, and policy of the British Government toward the colonies, is next treated of at length. The history of this matter is given from its commencement to the present time, and additional proof is adduced to shew what we have heretofore stated, that the British Government only demand of the colonies a declaration of their true political position. It has demanded the same of the Government of the United States without receiving a satisfactory account of its intentions with regard to Liberia—and it evidently was determined, to take such measures as would draw from the Liberians themselves this desirable declaration. This done, we again predict that the colonies will find in the British Government a patron and friend.



The Report then winds up with a complimentary tribute to the pioneers of civilization in Africa, etc. etc.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors, some important amendments of the constitution of the society were made, but of what specific nature we are unable to say, as that instrument has been so often mended and patched up, that but little of the old texture remains, except, the "colonising with their own consent the free people of colour," &c.

With regard to the independence of Liberia, the Directors adopted the following preamble and resolutions :

The committee on the relations of Liberia to this Society reported as follows :—

*Whereas*, The citizens of the commonwealth of Liberia have most respectfully submitted to the Colonization Society, the great embarrassment they experience from the alleged want of sovereignty, and have also expressed their desire to enjoy further privileges that they may be recognised by other nations as possessing the distinctive qualities appertaining to sovereignty ; and,

*Whereas*, It is believed that the time has arrived when the desire of said Liberians can be granted without sacrificing the facilities which the Society now enjoys for making Liberia a home for recaptured Africans, as well as free people of color from the United States :

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Board, the time has arrived when it is expedient for the people of the commonwealth of Liberia to take into their own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of all their foreign relations, and that this Society should cease to exercise any part of the same.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to them so to amend their constitution, as is necessary for the accomplishment of this object.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to them to publish to the world a Declaration of their true character, as a sovereign and independent state.

*Resolved*, That the Government of Liberia be requested to appoint a commissioner or commissioners to confer and make definite arrangements with the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, with reference to the property now held by the Society in Liberia, and also with reference to the location and support of emigrants and recaptured Africans.

*Resolved*, That the Society stand pledged to continue their sympathy and assistance in carrying out the great principles upon which the colony was established, and has been so much extended in population and territory.

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be intrusted with full powers to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect in a manner satisfactory, if possible, to the citizens of said commonwealth, and as best calculated to preserve harmonious relations between the Society and said citizens.

The report was accepted, and the preamble and resolutions were adopted.

Subsequently the following judicious resolution, was passed on motion of the Rev. Dr. McLain of N. Jersey, which we hope will have its influence on the Government of the colony.

*Resolved*, That in all matters of jurisdiction now in dispute between the commonwealth of Liberia and any other government, or which may hereafter be called into question, it be recommended to the Government of Liberia to waive, as far as it can be done, with a due regard to the safety and interest of the country, the exercise of the authority claimed by said government of Liberia, until all such difficulties be adjusted by negotiation or treaty.



Several letters were read from distinguished friends of the cause apologising for their non-attendance, among which the following from Capt. Perry, U. S. N. is of very great importance, and well worth preserving. We call the particular attention of our readers to this letter. Let it be remembered that Capt. Perry is an unbiassed, disinterested, able and well informed witness in this matter, and that his testimony is entirely voluntary.

NEW YORK, *January 19, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 9th inst., in which you express a wish that I should attend the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, which commences its session to-morrow, at Washington. Nothing would give me greater pleasure, than to become acquainted with the distinguished officers and managers of that excellent institution, and to communicate freely to them all the information I possess in regard to the African settlements, but the necessary execution of some particular duties assigned me by the Secretary of the Navy, will put it out of my power to visit Washington at this time.

I should regret this the more, if I could be satisfied that any thing I could say in addition to what has been embodied in my official and other written communications, would have any influence in bringing others to think as I do upon the subject of African colonization.

From the earliest period of my acquaintance with your Society, when as 1st lieutenant of the sloop-of-war *Cyane*, I sailed from this port in company with the ship *Elizabeth*, freighted with the first party of emigrants to Africa, and during subsequent cruises to the coast, the last as commander of the American squadron on that station; I have never for a moment ceased to believe that the cause in which you are embarked is one of righteousness and justice.

Few have had better opportunities than myself of tracing the fortunes of the Liberian colony: I have seen it in every vicissitude of trial, and have been astonished, that a handful of uneducated blacks, many of them emancipated slaves, should have reared up a government of their own; possessing as it does so many claims to the characteristics of wisdom, order, and morality.

In looking at these extraordinary results, and in witnessing the comforts, and the religious and social order of these people, one is irresistibly led to the conclusion, that the Almighty has had them in his especial keeping, and for some wise purpose of His merciful providence.

It would seem that this part of Africa was never designed for the habitation of the white man. Its pestilential climate effectually forbids the wily encroachments of "the Pale faces," upon these exclusive possessions of the descendants of Ham. But it is to the white man these very descendants are to look for aid to enable them to build up an empire in their own fruitful country—not only fruitful, but congenial, in climate and temperature, after acclimation, to the constitution of black men.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me, that the efforts of the Colonization Society have not been more liberally sustained. I can conceive of no charity which commends itself more directly to the sympathies of philanthropists, both in this country and England—as by contributing freely to the objects of this institution, the white man renders justice in part, for the wrong inflicted upon the negro in tearing him from his country.

I have had reason of late to doubt the sincerity of England in her exclusive pretensions of sympathy for the condition of the black man, and especially in her apparent efforts to suppress the slave trade. This abominable traffic might have been entirely destroyed years ago if the powers of

Europe, who by treaty stipulations have granted the mutual right of search, upon the African station, had coupled this stipulation with a law "similar to that of the United States," making it piracy for the respective subjects of the contracting powers to be engaged in the transportation of slaves from Africa. Of the hundreds of these villains (principally Portuguese and Spaniards) who are annually captured in slave vessels by British cruisers, not one, so far as I know, has ever been brought to punishment.

With every wish for your success in your benevolent undertaking,

I am, dear sir, your most ob't serv't,

REV. W. McLAIN.

M. C. PERRY.

What honest man after reading the above letter, can oppose African colonization, and what christian man or friend of the human race can withhold from the cause his support?

### THE LIBERIA ADVOCATE.

A new sheet with the above title, published at St. Louis, has been received at this office. It is edited by the Rev. R. S. Finley, well known throughout the country, as the untiring advocate of colonization, and the friend of the colored man. We can only say, that we hail this new acquisition to the colonization periodicals of the country, with great joy, and can augur nothing but success to the effort. We let the editor speak for himself, in the following article, which contains an exposé of his plan, and grounds of hope of success.

In sending forth to the public the first Number of the *Advocate*, it may be proper to state more at large than is done in the "Prospectus," the plan of conducting it, and the benefits to be expected from it; and of the means we have of making it interesting and useful.

The great and leading object of this paper will be to advocate the claims of Liberia upon the patronage and fostering care of the American people, and I shall endeavour to do this by *recording facts*, and not by *discussing principles*.

The actual condition of the Commonwealth of Liberia is but little known to the public at large. Its early struggles for existence, and its past history are still less known. The documents containing this information are not within the reach of many, even of the friends of Liberia. The *Advocate* is designed to supply, in part, this deficiency; and to publish accurate and *authentic* information of the present condition and past history of this infant Republic.

The *Advocate* will contain, also, a history of this *noble institution*, under whose guiding hand, by the blessing of God, the wonder of the age sprung into existence. In doing this, I shall re-publish valuable documents that are out of print, and only to be found in the hands of a few friends of the Colonization Society, such as "Thoughts on Colonization," published before the organization of the American Colonization Society, by the Founder of that Institution, Ashman's History of the early Settlement of Liberia, Carey's Letters, &c., &c.

I have also made arrangements to secure a copy of the "Census of Liberia," a document prepared under the care of the Governor of that Republic, by the direction of the American Colonization Society, and containing full statistical accounts in relation to the population, agriculture, commerce, health, religion, and education. I shall also take pains, by correspondence and otherwise, to obtain the earliest intelligence from Liberia, of an interesting nature.

The *Advocate* will open its columns freely for the admission of intelligence in reference to the condition and prospects of Christian Missions in Liberia, and in Africa generally; and cordially invite the Managers of the various Missions in Africa to forward us for publication the history, condition, and prospects of their Missions.

A large department of our columns will be devoted to giving intelligence concerning the efforts made to elevate the colored man in our own country. And we earnestly invite those humane and Christian masters, and those devoted servants of God, who are co-operating with them in promoting the spiritual welfare of the slaves in Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, the Carolinas, and other parts of the South, to furnish us, for publication, an account of their labors.

We shall also endeavor to keep our readers informed of the progress of the cause in this country; and for this purpose, have opened a correspondence with all the agents of the Society, of whom there are five or six now actively engaged west of the Mountains. An active correspondence with these agents, and other intelligent persons in the different parts of the country, will enable us to collect such an amount of information, as will be both interesting and useful, when disseminated in every portion of this Great Valley, through the columns of the *Advocate*.

The benefits to be derived from thus collecting and disseminating information on the subject of African Colonization, will be to inspire the friends with confidence, to increase their diligence, and make their efforts vastly more efficient, by concentrating and reducing them to a system.

In addition to the means of making the paper interesting and useful already hinted at, it gives us pleasure to add, that we have the promise of aid in conducting it from several gentlemen in this city, of known talents and public spirit; some of whom have favored us with communications for the present Number, as earnest of future assistance.

There is no paper west of the Mountains devoted to the cause of Colonization; and the papers published in the East on this subject, do not circulate extensively in the West. The *Advocate* will contain more reading matter than the *African Repository*, at one third of the price; and measures will be taken to give it a large gratuitous circulation, amongst ministers of the Gospel and others. The means have already been pledged for thus circulating one thousand copies in the State of Missouri; and I do not despair of seeing the day when this, or some other Colonization paper, will be found in the hands of every minister of the Gospel, and every legislator in the Valley of the Mississippi.

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(From the Spirit of Missions, of January, 1846.)

JOURNAL OF THE REV. J. PAYNE, MISSIONARY AT CAVALLA,  
WESTERN AFRICA.

(Continued from our last.)

*Sunday, June 15.*—Attendance on public services this morning unusually large, at least one hundred and fifty being present, amongst whom were some ten or twelve women.

*Sunday, June 22.*—This afternoon I was cheered by another of our dear boys coming forward to declare his hope that God had given him a new heart. I was much struck with his answer to my first question. "What makes you think this?" "Because, whenever I remember my sins, it makes me cry." Here, surely, was *repentance for sin*. The boy, whose English name is Horatio Gillet, is about fifteen years of age, and has long appeared to be a religious child. His views, as expressed this afternoon, afford much reason to believe that he has, indeed, been made "a child of God."



*Thursday, June 26.*—To-day the quarterly examination of the schools at this place was held. It being the season for our regular quarterly meeting for the transaction of business, we were favored with the presence of our brethren, Dr. Savage and Mr. Hening. The most interesting circumstance to me, connected with this examination, was, not the progress of the children in their studies—for this, since the one three months ago, was not striking—but, that nearly all those present had been steadily in the school from the beginning of my labors at this place.

*Saturday, July 5.*—Last night about seven o'clock a loud and protracted wailing announced some extraordinary distress in town. We were soon informed that two of the oldest Headmen, one long a favorite of the people, and the other the "Woraba," or Chief of the town, had been seized, and confined on charge of witchcraft, and were to take "gidu" this morning. The circumstances which led to this extraordinary measure appear to be the following: The peace lately concluded between this people and their enemies having never been ratified, the former have been very uneasy lest hostilities should again commence. To avert this result, many greegrees have been made, and many doctors consulted. To one of the latter, residing some one hundred and forty miles in the interior, a deputation was lately sent. The answer of this oracle, which was received two days ago, was to this effect. The two old men above-named, kept permanent peace from their country by their witchcraft. One of these, said the doctor, K., was nearly related to many of the Grahway people. One of those to whom he was related was killed in the late war, and his head brought and exposed to great indignity in K.'s presence. This had vexed him so much that he had sent word to the Grahway people, that the war should not finally terminate until they had got the head of one of these people in return. The "Woraba" had lost a near and prominent relative in the war. This so much enraged him, said the doctor, that he too had pledged himself to the Grahway people, to exert his powers to bring on war again, in order that others of his people might suffer as great a loss as he had done. Such were the charges brought from a distance of one hundred and forty miles, upon which two of the most respected Headmen had been thus unceremoniously seized, and confined in the roofs of smoky huts during fourteen hours. From the moment they were apprehended, I felt anxiously concerned for their deliverance, and waited with no little solicitude for the time to arrive when I might properly interpose. About 8½ o'clock this morning, a crowd was seen coming out of the town-gate next to our house. In front were the two old men, next came the main body of the 'Sedibo,' by whose order they had been apprehended, and then followed almost the whole population. Most of the Headmen also followed in the rear, and on learning that they were going on the same friendly errand as myself, I joined them. They welcomed me pleasantly, as properly one of their body, "nyekbade" (or rulers,) and we proceeded in company to the place of trial. The crowd now arranged itself in the following order along the public path. On the extreme end were the Sedibo, and on the opposite side of the path the prisoners, with their women, nearest relatives, and friends. Next to these, on either side of the path, was a promiscuous company, and on the end towards town were the old men, one of whom politely offered me his chair. The greatest decorum, and even seriousness, prevailed; the most light-hearted being the prisoners themselves. Before each of these stood a mortar, in which two men began to beat the bark of the gidu, preparatory to administering it. At this stage of the proceeding, K. S., the organ of the Headmen, advanced to the space in front of the Sedibo, and in a speech of much tact, begged that the prisoners might be released. He was answered by the organ of the



Sedibo, who thanked him for his kindness, but said that such was the character of the charges against them, that the body he represented insisted upon their proving their innocence in the usual way. K. S. replied, and was followed by one or two other old men. I then addressed the Sedibo to the same effect, and urging such considerations as appeared likely to have an influence upon them. When I had taken my seat, they sent to thank me for the part which I had taken in favor of their countrymen, and to say they had every disposition to comply with my wishes so far as the case allowed, but begged in the premises that I would examine the prisoners on the charges against them. Before I had time to make a direct reply, N., the warrior, arose, and made a long harangue, setting forth his late services and consequent claims to be heard by the people, in what he was about to say. He then declared that *he knew* the charges against the two prisoners were true beyond contradiction. "*I know*," said he, "that they practise witchcraft to the injury of the people; but do not fear them. They can effect nothing beyond what I permit; and since the petitions to release them have come from such respectable sources, arise, and let us go to town, and if there is anything farther to be said on the subject, let it be done there." The doctor's proposition was received and carried by acclamation. The prisoners were released, and the hundreds seated on the ground arose at the same instant, and proceeded to town. It was at first reported that the two old men were to return to their houses without being subjected to further molestation. This was a mistake. Inasmuch as they had not proved their innocence in the only satisfactory manner, they were still, in public opinion, wizards. They had been allowed to return to their houses, owing to the intercession of friends, but they must still repair the injury they had done, so far as possible, by the payment of fines. The old blacksmith, having humbled himself before the people, and made something like a confession of his guilt, had to pay only two cows, and some smaller articles. The "Woraba" however was treated very differently. He not only persisted that he was innocent, but threatened heavy calamities upon his people for having treated him so badly. This so exasperated them, (especially as there is strong reason to suspect that their object in the whole matter has been to humble his imperious spirit,) that they required him instantly to pay eight cows, besides chests, and numerous other articles, far beyond what it was possible for him to command.

*Sunday, July 6.*—Early this morning a great firing of guns was heard at the Woraba's house. It was occasioned by the people assembling there to make peace with their chief! Much of his property taken away from him yesterday was returned, and the old man declared to be reinstated in the same office from which, only twenty-four hours before, he seemed likely to be hurled to destruction. Such sudden changes of popular feeling are of constant occurrence amongst this people, and can only be satisfactorily accounted for upon the supposition that they originate more in a desire to gratify private revenge, or to humble those in authority, than in any conviction of the guilt of those who are the subjects of them. On public services this morning, we had an attendance of at least two hundred people, the largest number we have had for some time.

*Saturday, July 12.*—Returned to-day from Cape Palmas, whither I went to have an interview with Dr. Savage on business, and to visit the Mission family at Mount Vaughan. While here I learned that the report of the death of one of our female scholars, which reached us a week ago, was but too true. She died at her mother's, at Taboo river, of something like inflammation of the lungs. Her health had been bad for several months, and during the last one so much so, that it was thought best to send for her

mother, who took her home. There she had the services of Dr. Perkins, which, however, were rendered unavailing by the interference of her step-father, who is a native doctor, and another stranger of the same craft. "Yagi" was about fourteen years old, three of which she had passed in the Mission School at this place. Her capacity for learning was not good, but she was very amiable, and some months before her last illness, expressed a hope that she had experienced a change of heart. As, however, she was taken from us before sufficient time elapsed to show satisfactorily the sincerity of her professions, it is comforting to know that she had been thoroughly instructed in the way of salvation through Christ Jesus, and we may, therefore, indulge hope in her death.

*Sunday, July 13.*—This morning we understood that the whole population of Cavalla would probably be occupied in thatching N., the warrior's, houses, and, consequently, there appeared but little prospect of a congregation. I determined, however, to do my duty, and proceeded to the chapel at the usual hour. Although the greater part of the men *were* employed, as I had feared they would be, a congregation of about one hundred and thirty was soon collected, composed of some old, some middle-aged, our family, and some twenty-five women. The attendance of these last has steadily improved since Mrs. Payne and Mrs. Patch adopted the plan of visiting them at their houses on Saturday afternoons. They are uniformly courteous, and pleased with the attention, and some of them appear communicative, and to take an interest in talking about the Gospel. On one of these occasions, Mrs. Payne, in conversing with a woman, made some reference to the Resurrection; another woman, who was near, caught the declaration that we shall see our friends again; she instantly drew near to Mrs. Payne, and asked, "Can it be, that I shall see my child again?" Mrs. Payne assured her that she should, and urged her attendance at the chapel, where she would hear more particulars about this and kindred subjects. She has since been a regular attendant. In the girls' school too, Mrs. Payne has been lately much encouraged. Three of the smaller girls have several times expressed to her their anxious concern about their spiritual interests, and their general conduct affords ground to hope that their professions have been prompted by the feelings of their hearts.

*Sunday, July 20.*—The congregation this morning numbered about one hundred and forty, of whom twenty-five were women. I have been encouraged to-day to labor in more faith, by reading what God wrought through the instrumentality of Brainerd amongst the Indians of New-Jersey, just one century ago. Surely the heathen for whom we labor are not so degraded or hardened as they were; and yet, when God was pleased to pour out his Spirit upon them, how rapid, how easy, was the transition from death to life, and "from the power of Satan unto God."

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### CONTRIBUTIONS.

We defer giving a list of the subscriptions and contributions obtained by Mr. Higgins, the Society's Travelling Agent, in this City and Annapolis during the present winter, in the hope that we may able be to present a more respectable array of names and amounts in our March No., than we can at present.



